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MAYDAY IN WEST BERLIN

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EUROPEAN ACTIVISM

LONG AFTER reaching its high point in 1981, a militant youth movement in Central Europe called Autonomen continues to affect local and national politics while attempting to build its own way of life from the grassroots. Largely unreported in both the mainstream and the alternative U.S. press, this new social movement in Europe, although suffering severe setbacks in the last few years, is far from defeated. In the fall of 1987, internationally coordinated attacks against Autonomen strongholds were able to destroy the Zaffaraya encampment in Bern, Switzerland, and to clear out squatted houses in the German cities of Gottingen, Freiburg, Dusseldorf, Bochum, and Kiel, but the police assault on the Hafenstrasse squatters in Hamburg was bloodily repulsed.

The Autonomen are now preparing to unleash a counterattack of their own when the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund hold their conventions in West Berlin. Beginning in mid-September, thousands of militant demonstrators are expected to be in the streets attempting to stop business as usual while the top finance ministers of 150 countries and over 10,000 world bankers sit down to plan their future exploits.

To be sure, the Green Party and their alter-ego in Berlin, the Alternative List, are already attempting to defuse the planned confrontation by calling for a convention of their own to discuss the possibility of an "alternative world banking system," but the radical autonomen would have little to do with banks—alternative or not. The type of world they seek to create and to live in is as far removed as possible from money, centralization, and ownership in all their forms. The base of this radical movement, living in hundreds of squatted and formerly squatted houses, reflects a break with the established norms of middle-class propriety: communes instead of traditional families; movement restaurants and bars where the "scene" can have its own space as opposed to the atomized world of mass culture; an international community defined by its radical actions in contrast to the patriotic spectacles so beloved in Europe.

In the United States, our understanding of social movements in Western Europe is largely confined to the arenas of parliaments and guerrillas, to votes and violence. Since the dispersal of the New Left of the 1960s, media reports on this side of the Atlantic have covered the rise of "socialist" governments in France, Spain, Portugal, and Greece, the multifaceted nature of the Green Party in West Germany (i.e. the differences between the realo and fundi wings of the party as reported in *Z* in May 1988), and the spectacular actions (and subsequent arrests) of groups like the Red Brigades in Italy, Direct Action in France, and Germany's Red Army Faction. Left out of the news on Europe, however, has been a popular, extraparliamentary movement in West Germany, Holland, Denmark, and Switzerland, a movement composed of hundreds of thousands of activists who have refused to be confined to the ranks of mainstream politics or marginalized as guerrillas.

A recent example of the media's bias in reporting on European affairs can be found in November of 1987, when two policemen were shot dead and nine were wounded during a demonstration against a new runway at the airport in Frankfurt. The news media sensationalized the story in the United States, carrying it widely without providing any context. Exactly six years earlier, there had hardly been any mention of the 150,000 people who had marched peacefully against the Startbahn, nor did the American media cover the building of a village of huts from the trees felled in preparation for the new runway. After hundreds of people had lived in the village for months to protest the runway, the police finally attacked. Thousands of people defended their village, but once again the media's relative silence was the news story to those of us following these events.

In the last decade, the best efforts of existing governments have been expended in protracted attempts to deny these popular movements any legi-

timacy. The state's strategy has been to criminalize and/or coopt extraparliamentary movements, and to some extent the state's strategy has paid off. As we discovered in May 1988, however, these movements are far from neutralized, and a new generation of activists is poised to continue on the road already prepared by two previous ones. There are, of course, many divisions within these movements; to name just one, there is the split along generational lines between the '68ers, the squatters of 1981, and the militant anti-imperialists of today. When considered as a whole, however, the oppositional movement is the motorforce driving both the parliamentary upsurge of the Greens and the guerrilla actions which continue to plague German political life.

There are several reasons why we hear so little—if anything—about the extraparliamentary movement. Activists are self-consciously attempting to prevent the media from creating artificial leaders (which they view as one of the shortcomings of the New Left) in order to maintain the integrity of their own groups. Moreover, they seek direct control over media productions about them, something which the U.S. media, unlike their European counterparts, do not permit. In 1981, for example, a CBS film crew showed up at one of the squatted houses in Berlin to shoot a story on the movement. Although the squatters were aware that they were dealing with a potential audience in the tens of millions, they opted not to speak to CBS because they could not be guaranteed the right to approve the final segment.

Americans with the interest and ability to write about European social movements have tended to ignore the extraparliamentary movement because of the overwhelming social-democratic bias Americans bring to European events. From their vantage point, parliamentary elections are of more interest than demonstrations and building occupations. The American mass media, relying on foreign governments for much of their information, cover the most spectacular of the guerrilla actions simply because the kidnapping of American generals or the bombing of American bases cannot be ignored, while "domestic" social movements are deemed to be of little value.

At the same time, one cannot help but wonder if there is also an element of outright censorship at work, particularly because massive and militant demonstrations against high-ranking American officials visiting Berlin have never been afforded the media coverage they merit. In June of 1987, for example, the day before Ronald Reagan paid his second presidential visit to Berlin, more than 50,000 protestors were on hand, of whom at least 3,000 were Autonomen who chose to battle the more than 10,000 riot police mobilized to protect the president. The next day, in order to prevent disruption of Reagan's speech, the city fathers banned the three scheduled demonstrations and, to insure their will, sealed off the Autonomen base in Kreuzberg, claiming that "technical difficulties" caused the subways there to stop running. Naturally, replacement buses never appeared, and to top it off, anyone trying to leave Kreuzberg was stopped at one of the nine checkpoints ringing the neighborhood. Despite all these precautions, a spontaneous demonstration broke out in the middle of the city, but the police quickly surrounded it and held over 500 people in a "kettle" (an encirclement of police) for over five hours.

Although several of the above measures violated existing laws, causing a legal crisis of no small proportions, the American media reported nothing about this state of emergency. Even though only 25,000 people assembled to support Reagan—half the number that demonstrated against him—American television viewers were only shown footage of the president's speech to a crowd of cheering Berliners.

During three weeks in Germany, Holland, and Denmark in May 1988, we were able to catch a brief glimpse of the Autonomen. In the following observations, we attempt to provide a snapshot picture of this movement, an introduction to a story whose next chapters have yet to be written on either side of the Atlantic.

Besides being the driving force behind larger social movements, the militant Autonomen have succeeded in forging a new synthesis of theory and practice unknown in Europe since the heady days of Bolsheviks and Spartacists, a new synthesis whose theory names both capitalism and patriarchy as the structures to be destroyed and whose practice has spread across national and continental boundaries. The Autonomen first appeared in Italy in the 1970s as part of the militant workers' struggles which were independent of the reformism of the Communist Party. In the late 1970s, however, after the defeat of the Autonomen in Italy, the movement and concept resurfaced in West Germany and today has been adopted by activists throughout Europe.

Mayday in Berlin

THE LAST time we were in Berlin was in 1981 and we really were looking forward to our return.. Through some colossal stroke of luck, we had managed to track down our good friend Udo and arranged to meet him on the morning of May 1. On the telephone, Udo promised a warm welcome and described how the movement had taken over part of the city the previous Mayday. He indicated that everything pointed to a repeat performance this year.

From the moment the plane landed on a beautifully clear day (not a normal occurrence for Berlin by any means), the city appeared to be preparing for the afternoon's festivities. Plastered everywhere was the call for the "revolutionary Mayday," and its quote from Rosa Luxemburg was upbeat enough: "The revolution is everything. Anything else is fluff."

As we approached Udo's Wohngemeinschaft (or commune) in Kreuzberg, the massive police presence plainly indicated that the authorities were also contemplating a repeat performance of last year.

Adjacent to the wall separating East and West Berlin, Kreuzberg has long had a sizable Turkish population. Since 1980, thousands of adherents of the alternative scene have established themselves as part of the neighborhood, and today the alternative scene accounts for approximately 30,000 of Kreuzberg's 145,000 residents. That there were initially tensions between these two groups is not hard to envision if you consider the cultural contrast between punks and newly-arrived immigrants from Izmir. Of course, connections were quickly made at many levels: political agreement among left-wing groups, cooperative food stores selling organic produce, and—significantly—women's groups.

For those Turkish and German women who began to meet, there was an

intensification of the obstacles standing between the residents at large. One of the issues deemed important by the German women, for example, was opposition to the traditional scarfs worn by Islamic women to cover their heads in public. On the other side, the Turkish women could not convince the Germans that public lesbian leadership and banners at their marches on International Women's Day made it all but impossible for them to justify their participation to their communities.

Despite the cultural gaps, the common interests of these women led to a Crisis Center being established. The Gray Wolves, Turkish fascists who have long attacked activist Turks in Germany and at home, issued warnings to Turkish women to stay out of the center. When these warnings were ignored, a gunman assaulted the center in 1984, shooting a Turkish woman dead and severely wounding one of her German coworkers.

Along with the attacks by the Gray Wolves, the police have also treated Kreuzberg as enemy territory, frequently entering punk bars like the Black Panther to arrest people. By Mayday of 1987, the stage was set for a reaction, and when it finally came, everyone seemed surprised by its intensity. What began as the traditional street party in Kreuzberg's Lausitzer Platz quickly turned into a full-scale riot. Although the police had initiated the confrontation, they quickly realized that they lacked the strength to control the scene and beat a hasty retreat. Store after store was looted—or as some insisted, became the scene of "proletarian shopping." As one of the participants put it: "From Heinrichplatz to the Gorlitzer Bahnhof, a liberated territory was held for most of the night. It was not just the Autonomen who participated but also 'normal' people: youth, grandmothers, Turks. It was fantastic."

As we left the commune and headed for the demo, Udo explained all this to me as he pointed out the hundreds of police who were massed on almost every side street. We were as surprised by their youthfulness and the number of women in their ranks as we were by their overwhelming numbers. Once the march began, the thousands of demonstrators formed spirited contingents of women, Turks, and a "black bloc," ski masked militants ready for action. The banner leading the march—"We fight internationally against capital and patriarchy"—indicated the growing influence of the women's movement on the Autonomen as well as the ascendancy of "anti-imperialism" as the defining content of the current generation's politics. These two political strands are woven together most consistently in the practice of the Red Zoras, autonomous feminist guerrillas who are the latest product of nearly twenty years of continuous armed struggle in West Germany.

The Red Zoras

AFTER NEARLY every single member of the Red Army Fraction had been killed or imprisoned, the Revolutionary Cells emerged as the newest name for the groups waging small group warfare on the established system. Similar to but independent of the Red Cells, the Red Zoras take their name from a popular novel whose young girls steal from the rich to give to the poor. The anti-authoritarian structure of these groups—their decentralized decision-making process for choosing targets and their lack of uniform politics or spokespersons—have made it all but impossible for German authorities to find them. In frustration, the police resorted to massive raids on women's groups. In December 1987, hundreds of federal police conducted raids on 33 offices and apartments in an attempt to destroy the Red Zoras. The police seized address books, audio and video cassettes, mail and research archives relating to the movement against genetic engineering, abortion rights, and reproductive technology, and took 23 women in for questioning. All but two of these women were quickly released, but the cases of Ingrid Strobl and Ulla Penselin have become the focal point for an international campaign of solidarity. These two women have long been active feminists. Charging them with "membership in a terrorist organization"—the Red Zoras to be exact—seems as much designed to criminalize the women's movement as to be based on any solid evidence of their participation in armed attacks.

To be sure, the Red Zoras have not been submissive members of German society. Since 1974, when they bombed the Supreme Court building the day after it overturned the abortion law, the RZ have conducted militant campaigns against pornography stores, international traders in women (those who profit from importing Asian women as

"brides" for German men), the Doctors' Guild ("We see the Federal Doctors' Guild as exponents of rape in white trenchcoats."), and drug companies (notably Schering who produced the birth-defect-causing drug Duogynon). In conjunction with the Revolutionary Cells, the RZ have launched over 200 attacks on targets such as these. Their most successful campaign was won in the summer of 1987, when they compelled Adler Corporation, one of Germany's largest clothing producers, to agree to the demands of South Korean women textile workers. Adler had initially fired 12 South Korean women union leaders, but after the RZ and their sister group in Berlin, the Amazons, firebombed ten Adler outlets in Germany causing millions of dollars in damages, the company rehired the 12 women and agreed to meet the textile workers' demands.

If the RZ's anti-imperialism is not clear enough from their actions, they released a recorded interview to clarify their politics: "We do not fight for women in the Third World," they said, "we fight alongside them." Looking at the massive disarmament movement whose practice has been constrained by pacifism, the RZ commented: "When the refusal of violence is elevated to the level of an inviolable principle where good and evil are counterpoised, it is not a question of disagreement but of submission and obedience."

RZ's popularity and success could not be permitted to remain unpunished, and the arrests of Ingrid Strobl and Ulla Penselin, however weak the evidence against them, are the police's avenue of last resort in their attempt to appear to be in control. Moreover, because these two activists have played significant roles in the women's movement over the past decade, the police tactic may also have been designed to exacerbate the growing differences within feminist circles. For over seven years, Ingrid Strobl has worked for Emma, a widely read feminist magazine, writing on topics as diverse as immigrants in Germany, Rosa Luxemburg, and witchcraft. In 1987, when women associated with the Greens issued a "Mother Manifesto" calling for a new conception of women's liberation, it was Ingrid who wrote the feminist response. Noting the Greens' demands for paid child-rearing and paid housework, demands premised on the assumption that German women are "primarily mothers and gladly mothers" and that an important part of a woman's role is to raise children, Ingrid responded angrily: "It's a proposal for a few middle class women who are not ready to continue the struggle but prefer to return to the gilded cage of home and hearth. It is extremely doubtful if the majority of women, who aren't waiting for the gilded cage but for the nose ring of the runaway slave, will follow the Mother Manifesto on the path of betrayal."

Ingrid's polemic is one of the better crafted criticisms of the current state of the Greens, criticisms which are omnipresent among the Autonomen. Although in the United States, the Greens are perceived as a radical political party building upon the legacy of the New Left, in European movement circles, the Greens are taken to task for blunting the radical potential of the social movements out of which they have grown. To be sure, there are those within the Greens who seek to maintain their ties to popular movements, notably the radical fundis who succeeded in electing Jutta Ditfurth as one of the Greens' national spokespersons. Known for her sharp tongue rather than for her skills in building movements, Ditfurth has become a favorite target of the conservative German media, particularly after her response to the shootings in Frankfurt, something to the effect that we should not lose sight of who is the purveyor of the most violence today.

In some sense, Ditfurth and the fundis are caught between a rock and a hard place, participating in an organization with realo members like Joschke Fischer (who served as a state official in Hesse and justified the transportation of nuclear wastes on that state's highways) while attempting to maintain ties to militant movements against the system which creates, serves, and protects the nuclear industry. An example of the dilemma faced by the Greens was in May 1986, when the long-contested Brokdorf reactor near Hamburg was due to go on line. The Greens and their pacifist allies agreed to allow the police to stop and search their convoys before they reached the site for the demonstration. Needless to say, those among the more than 50,000 demonstrators who refused to agree to these searches in advance were stopped even before they could assemble their caravans (as in Berlin) or brutally attacked while in their cars (as happened to hundreds of

people from Hamburg). By agreeing to the searches in advance, the Greens had, in the eyes of many, betrayed those who were prepared for more militant actions.

Within the Greens, as fundis and realos have engaged each other in endless debates, a new pragmatic strata is emerging, a development indicated by the conservatism of the Mother Manifesto. Alongside the Greens' need to abandon the "utopian dreams" of the first phase of the feminist movement is a new slogan of "ecological capitalism," i.e. the idea that because of the existing system's wholesale destruction of the biosphere and the remoteness of any genuine alternative, the Greens must put forth proposals for making the market system responsible for the preservation of the earth. In this context, is it any wonder that there are people who see the Greens as having betrayed the vision of a qualitatively better society? The parallel with the opportunist history of the Social Democrats at the beginning of this century is striking.

The participation of the Greens in the existing political system creates even more problems than already noted. Particularly in a context where the state is actively attempting to criminalize militant opponents of the system, the Greens' existence as part of the governing structure complicates their allegiances. One of the most famous members of the Greens is Daniel Cohn-Bendit, of May 1968 fame, and the antagonisms between him and the Autonomen are an ominous indication of what the future might hold for the movement as a whole. In 1987, Cohn Bendit was invited to speak at the Free University of Berlin, but he cancelled his appearance after leaflets were distributed threatening to disrupt his speech (something which had already happened in Karlsruhe when stink-bombs were released in the room where he was speaking). Essentially, the Autonomen have charged Cohn-Bendit with having informed against suspected "terrorists" through his participation in the government's amnesty plans, having supported Israel in the pages of his Frankfurt magazine *Pflasterstrand* during the bloody invasion of Lebanon in 1982, and refusing to abandon the male chauvinism of his magazine. In the mainstream media, of course, Cohn-Bendit is the living embodiment of the generation of 1968, and his subsequent turning against revolutionary (and even radical) politics is widely used in the media to discredit the Autonomen. This, the Autonomen insist, indicates that the entire New Left was and is no better than he. From the point of view of the new generation of activists in Europe, the New Left has been completely integrated: the Greens are the proof of their political cooptation; their nuclear families and the Mother Manifesto indicate their cultural integration; and their professional jobs are proof enough of their economic demise.

As I watched the women's contingent stride proudly through the streets of Berlin on Mayday 1988, I couldn't help but note their youthfulness. In 1981, the feminist movement had been extremely critical of the "male violence" and "penis politics" of the extraparliamentary movement. The Autonomen—still a movement in formation in 1981 and clearly unprepared to deal with the issues raised by feminists—were quick to react against their critics. Seven years later, as these hundreds of women clad in Palestinian scarfs marched past me, their presence was one indication of the Autonomen's internal progress.

However critical one may be of armed struggle or violence, the greater role played by women in the Autonomen makes it impossible to argue against violence solely from the perspective of sexual politics. The existence of the RZ indicates the transformation of this new generation of German women and profoundly affects the ground rules upon which feminism, and all political questions, are evaluated by men and women alike. The notion that there is some inherent peacefulness in women's nature which makes them naturally disposed to resist domination is itself viewed as part of the system of patriarchy by the RZ: "When sections of the feminist movement ingenuously return to norms of feminine behavior to find in 'the nature' of women all the characteristics that find parallels in the peace movement in the form of the will to sacrifice, humility, refusal of confrontation and combat, they favor the biological theory of 'femininity' which for a long time has been known and understood as a product of power."

As the march ended and the street party began, beer flowed freely at the Lausitzer Platz. Word spread quickly that the massive police presence made it foolish to attempt anything like last year's festivities. As the sun went down and the full moon rose, we decided to walk along the canal in the direction of

Udo's commune to find his roommates. No sooner had we located them at the neighborhood bar and sat with them at one of the outdoor tables by the water did the police sirens begin what would be their nightlong wail. A line of more than 30 police vans, each containing at least a half-dozen helmeted riot police, pulled past the bar headed for the street party. After they passed, Gunther (one of Udo's roommates) strolled over to the corner and returned with a report: "The bulls (police) are going nuts. They must still be smarting from last year." We quickly discussed our options: leave the scene, go and fight the police, or stay and drink some more beer under the full moon. We chose the latter.

GIVEN THE police preparations for the day, we felt there was no possibility of winning the streets, but we did not want to head home in case we had not evaluated the situation properly. Gunther spontaneously modified our plan. He strolled back to the corner and moved a trash barrel into the middle of the street. Udo went next, carrying a broken chair from the back of the bar, followed by Renate who tossed a cement block on the growing pile. Before long, the street was flimsily blockaded.

As we ordered another round, I (George Katsiaficas) asked Gunther if we should reconsider our decision to stay here. "Look," he began, "We're driving the bulls up the walls. They don't know what to expect from us. Years ago, when we were fighting them every day on the Ku'damm (Berlin's main shopping street), there were a few thousand of us ready to go at it. It was such a hot day we couldn't stand it, and you know if we were hot, it might have been hell in full riot gear. A few people took off their clothes and before you knew it, people were jumping into the Hallensee (a nearby lake) to cool off. Then we all stripped and jumped in. Thousands of us were enjoying ourselves at the beach, while the bulls stood by sweating like pigs not knowing what was happening. The city government, the media, and the bulls could never figure out who gave the order to jump in. They still can't understand our politics or our culture, especially when we don't lose our sense of humor. Right now there are hundreds of bulls looking for us and here we sit, enjoying ourselves drinking a beer. Look at that moon!"

As we sat watching the arc of the moon, I recalled my last night in Berlin seven years ago. All over Kreuzberg, there were vicious street fights as the police savagely—and unsuccessfully—attempted to stop the squatters movement from occupying more of the vacant houses. After their vicious attack on nonviolent protesters at Gorleben, the police had suddenly found themselves unable to maintain order in any of Germany's big cities. Berlin, of course, was in the forefront of the movement.

I will never forget the transformation of Hans. He and I had gotten to know each other fairly well in the eighteen months I'd lived in Berlin. In that time, he'd patiently explained the nuances of German politics to me, while I, perhaps not so patiently, had questioned his assumptions regarding the propriety of pacifism. After a few hours of back and forth with the police in Hermannplatz one night, our roommate Anna and I had grown weary of the effort and were determined to head home. When we found Hans, he was incredulous that we were leaving. "What?" he shouted. "You're leaving now? I'll be here until there are no bulls left in the streets or no more rocks to throw at the bulls!"

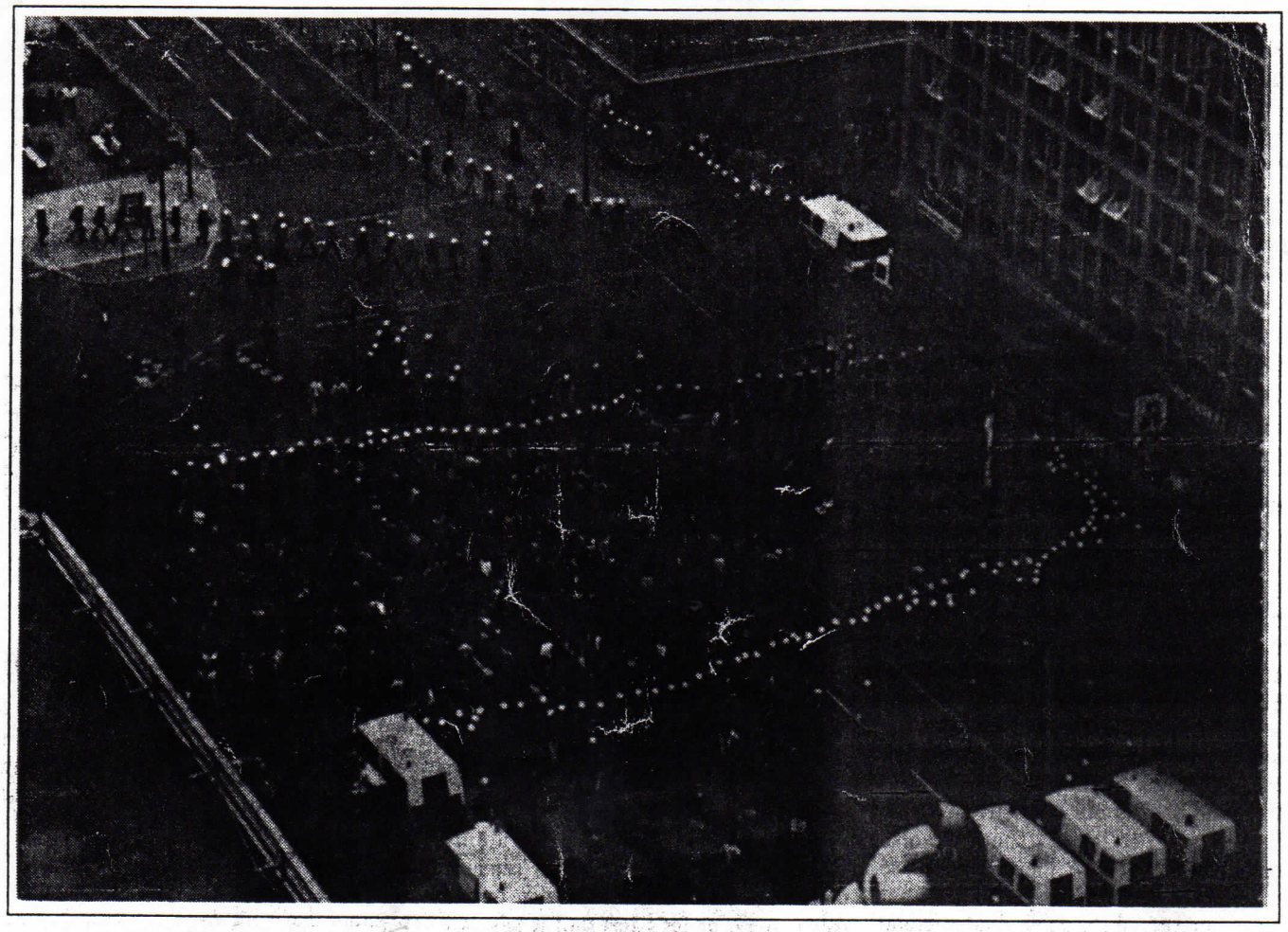
HANS' RADICALIZATION was symptomatic of thousands of people who followed a similar trajectory in the period from 1979 to 1981, as the cycle of resistance and repression intensified in Germany. At its high point, the squatters movement in Berlin controlled 165 houses, each with from 10 to 50 occupants. The governing Social Democrats' inability to stop the new occupations led to a new hard-line Christian Democratic government in Berlin, but their offensive against the squatters proved of little value. The movement's response to an ultimatum issued by the new mayor demanding that the squatters clear out of eight houses was a poster of ten people mooning the government and an international call to "Tu Wat" (Do Something). Optimistic estimates were that 50,000 Autonomen from all of Europe would converge on Berlin to defend the squatted houses. At the appointed hour, however less than 5000 people took to the streets—not an insignificant number when we remember that only a couple of hundred Weatherpeople were in the streets of Chicago during the Days of Rage in 1969.

But in 1981 the Autonomen were not the European equivalent of the Weatherpeople, although as we discovered on our trip to Europe in 1988, that is precisely the direction where many are headed today (more on this in Part 2). In 1981, the government's inability to defeat the squatters in the streets led to a tactical innovation: legalize the squatted houses in the large cities, thereby depriving the movement of a focus for action and, more importantly, of a sense of fighting against the existing system. Legalization meant that those previously living an everyday existence of resistance to a repressive order were suddenly—without any change of heart or location on their part—transformed into guests of a tolerant big brother, someone who not only provided them with a house but also with a low rent and money to repair it.

Of course, in the smaller cities and towns where the movement's activist base was small, the government's tolerance was never known. Squatted houses were simply cleared soon after they were occupied, and the local authorities were able to contain what militant opposition there was.

In the larger cities like Berlin, Hamburg, and Frankfurt, however, legalization was an important factor in the depoliticization of the movement, although the consciousness of thousands of activists and their practical refusal to throw in the towel meant, in many cases at least, that the legalized houses became base areas from which to organize. In Hamburg, the new nuclear reactor at Brokdorf became the focal point of opposition; in Frankfurt, the new airport runway; in Lower Saxony, the nuclear reprocessing plant at Gorleben; and in southern Germany, the nuclear reprocessing plant at Wackersdorf (which will have the capability to produce bomb-grade plutonium, a fact which has provided the antinuclear and peace movements with a unifying focus). In Berlin, the movement entrenched itself in Kreuzberg, where it developed an organized network of alternative institutions which served as a model for similar networks in 36 other cities.

Around two in the morning, the fighting was apparently over, and we headed home, taking the indirect route of walking through Lausitzer Platz. Evidently, not all the party-goers had had



time to pack up their belongings before heading home since there were many abandoned items of clothing in the streets. Although the city had cleared the streets of anything that could be used to build barricades, the charred remnants of wood lying in the streets indicated that the state's preparations had not been entirely successful.

The next day, as we read the newspaper reports on the previous night's events, several people stopped by the commune looking for friends who had not made it home. Renate was quite concerned for the fate of Arnt who was no where to be found. As she searched for him in the neighborhood, we read the *Tageszeitung*, a daily movement paper with a national circulation of over 50,000. Apparently, the police had moved against the street party when a small campfire had been lit. The ensuing confrontation involved 1500 members of Berlin's finest against the remnants of 6000 demonstrators, most of whom had chosen not to participate in the resistance to the police assault. The Black Panther was raided again, and by the end of the night, more than 100 people had been injured and a total of 134 people were under arrest. The state was charging most of them with the equivalent of felonies and would certainly demand some jail time.

On the bright side, Arnt was discovered sleeping in the commune next door. Also, among the casualties of the previous night's police riot were none other than Berlin's chief of police and two of his top aides. These gentlemen were observing the police action from the edge of the crowd when from another direction newly arrived members of the riot squad began bashing heads without warning. When the police officers protested, exclaiming that they were in charge of the riot squad and that one of them was the chief of police, the response was indicative of the demeanor of the police that night: "Yeah, and we're the emperors of China," followed by blows which sent the three to the hospital. When Gunther heard the news, he bellowed, "You see, who says there isn't justice in this world!"

As he drank his morning cup of coffee, Gunther continued, "This whole system is destroying itself—killing off the rivers and the forests, poisoning the air, stockpiling nuclear waste, and building the ugliest buildings imaginable. No wonder they're beating up their leaders. They can't even take care of Germany's two and a half million unemployed."

"What's the alternative?" one of us rejoined. "It's certainly not in the anti-imps (anti-imperialists), who would just as soon see Germany go down the tubes, and the Greens are part of the system, no?" For the first time, Gunther looked serious: "The alternative won't appear ready-made overnight, my friend, but we see it growing in the Hafenstrasse, in the resistance to Wackersdorf, the Startbahn, and in our street parties. An army of lovers cannot lose." Z

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